

*XUNAA SHUKÁ HÍT*, THE TRIBAL HOUSE,  
IN GLACIER BAY NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE, ALASKA

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## Abstract

This research analyzes the Tribal House project in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve in Southeast Alaska, which the Hoonah Indian Association (the tribal government at Hoonah) and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve have promoted collaboratively. The Tribal House project is the construction of an indigenous structure in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, primarily for the use of Hoonah, the local Tlingit community. This research investigates the motivations of the partners in supporting the project. It concludes that the two partners' motivations, which derive from distinct missions, reconcile with one another in a complex way.

The Hoonah Indian Association supports the project primarily to reconnect the younger Tlingit generations to their ancestral land, Glacier Bay, and to promote their cultural survival, which lies at the core of the tribal government's mission. The reconnection also represents a metaphorical restitution of Glacier Bay in demonstrating for park visitors the Tlingit clans' ties with Glacier Bay, which have been maintained from pre-historic times to modern days. Both the reconnection and the restitution affirm Tlingit clan-based identities. The representation of contemporary Tlingit culture in the Tribal House, however, requires a consolidation of multiple clan identities.

Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve promotes the project to accomplish the National Park Service's mission to tell Glacier Bay's history fairly to park visitors by acknowledging that Glacier Bay is the indigenous group's ancestral homeland. This acknowledgement contradicts the original purpose of the National Park, to preserve the

region as uninhabited wilderness. This examination of the two entities' motivations in their collaborative project will serve as a case study for considering contemporary park management issues in light of indigenous peoples' inhabitation of park lands since time immemorial.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents .....	v
1. Introduction .....	1
2. Background of the Tribal House project .....	3
2.1 What is the Tribal House project? .....	3
2.2 Geographical and historical background of the project .....	4
3. The research question and the significance of this research.....	8
3.1 Examining the motivations for the project and its significance.....	8
3.2 What does answering the research question mean in a larger sense? .....	10
4. The assumptions grounding the research and its framework .....	10
4.1 The assumptions grounding this research .....	10
4.2 Challenges related to accuracy in qualitative and cross-cultural research.....	14
4.3 My standpoint, as it affects the accuracy of this research.....	16
4.4 My personal motivation for this research .....	17
5. Methodology.....	18
5.1 Methods for data gathering .....	18

5.2	Why oral history is the best method for this research.....	21
5.3	The method for analysis of the interviews.....	22
6.	Findings .....	23
6.1	The Hoonah Indian Association's (HIA's) motivations .....	23
6.2	The Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve's (GBNPP's) motivations .....	27
6.3	The significance of contemporariness in the history telling and cultural interpretation within the Tribal House.....	32
6.4	Short-term and long-term benefits of collaboration through the project .....	39
6.5	How the understanding of wilderness influences the Tribal House project .....	41
6.6	Additional future issues/challenges facing the Tribal House .....	45
7.	Conclusion .....	46
8.	Acknowledgements .....	48

# 1. Introduction

My research investigates the Tribal House project in Southeast Alaska, which the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA, the tribal government at Hoonah) and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP), have promoted collaboratively. This research focuses on the motivations of the two partners that support the project. The Tribal House project is the construction of an indigenous structure in GBNPP for the use of the local Tlingit people, *Xunaa Káawu*, (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area).<sup>1</sup> Such an indigenous structure in an American national park, the construction of which is 100 percent federally funded, is the first of its kind. To explore the motivations for the project, I interviewed ten personnel in both governments, and one other Hoonah community member.

I found that the two governments' motivations for the project, which derive from distinct missions, reconcile with one another in a complicated way. The HIA supports the project primarily to reconnect the current younger generations of *Xunaa Káawu* to their ancestral land, Glacier Bay, and to promote their cultural survival, which lies at the core of the HIA's missions. The reconnection is also a metaphorical restitution of Glacier Bay, because it shows park visitors the *Xunaa Káawu*'s ties with Glacier Bay, which have been maintained from pre-historic times to modern days. On the other hand, GBNPP promotes the project to

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1. In this paper, I use the Tlingit term *Xunaa Káawu* (pronounced Huna Kaawu) to define the Tlingit people originating in the Glacier Bay area. *Xunaa Káawu* is a Tlingit geographical boundary of territorial land and sea area, which includes Glacier Bay and Hoonah. Historically, members of clans lived within their territorial area because they viewed this area as belonging to their clan. (Please refer to footnote 6 for more discussion of the clan concept) In modern days, clans endure as familial and socio-political concepts. However, current clan members originating in the *Xunaa Káawu* area do not necessarily live in Glacier Bay or in Hoonah. Instead, recently *Xunaa Káawu* refers to people (clan members) who have ancestral ties with the *Káawu* area, especially Glacier Bay. Personal communication with an elder in Hoonah, July 15, 2016. Robert Starbard, e-mail message to author, July 14, 2016. Vivian F. Martindale, "Lingít Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit: Contemporary Tlingit Identity and the Ancestral Relationship to the Landscape" (PhD dissertation, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2008), 16. Martindale translates *Xunaa Káawu* as *Hoonah people*, when she explains the socio-political structure at Hoonah associated with moieties, clans, and houses. Please see also footnote 23 for more on her background.

accomplish the National Park Service's mission to tell Glacier Bay's history fairly to park visitors by acknowledging that Glacier Bay is the *Xunaa Káawu* homeland. This position contradicts the original purpose of the Park, formed in 1925 as a National Monument, which is based on the notion of preserving the region as uninhabited wilderness.

In this research, I analyzed the collaboration between these two partners in the construction of a new cultural resource within GBNPP--*Xunaa Shuká Hit*, the Tribal House. The long term connections between *Xunaa Káawu* and Glacier Bay, as documented through oral history, affirm the validity of the newly created NPS cultural resource within Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP). GBNPP's support of this project illustrates its acknowledgement of the *Xunaa Káawu*'s historical claims to the region. This examination of the two entities' motivations in their collaborative project will serve as a case study for considering contemporary park management issues.

As this paper will be submitted to the HIA, the primary readers of this paper will be the residents of Hoonah. I therefore have placed my literature review in footnotes, to avoid distracting readers interested primarily in the Tribal House project.

Section 2 of this paper, *Background of the Tribal House project*, explains the geographical and historical background of the project. In section 3, *The research question and the significance of this research*, I explain my research question and its significance. Section 4, *The assumptions grounding the research and its framework*, explains the underlying assumptions of my research. This section also relates how I pursued accuracy in this qualitative and cross-cultural research, and explains my standpoint. Section 5, *Methodology*, provides an overview of my data gathering and analyzing methods and their validity. Section 6, *Findings*, provides my analysis of my interview data.



## 2. Background of the Tribal House project

### 2.1 What is the Tribal House project?



Figure 1. The exterior screen of the Tribal House. Photo credit: Emiko Furuya, September 10, 2016

The Tribal House is a Tlingit (Alaska Native) cultural structure, which is located at Bartlett Cove, in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP). The Tribal House was named *Xunaa Shuká Hít* in the Tlingit language, which roughly means Hoonah ancestors' house.<sup>2</sup> The construction of the Tribal House was completed in August of



Figure 2. The interior of the Tribal House. Photo credit: Ian Johnson, August 25, 2016.

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2. "Huna Tribal House Project," Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, accessed February 13, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/glba/learn/historyculture/huna-tribal-house-project.htm>.

2016. The Dedication of the Tribal House was conducted from August 25 to 26, 2016. The Tribal House will be used by *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) for ceremonial purposes and to educate tourists about the history and culture of *Xunaa Káawu* in Glacier Bay. The indigenous group anticipates that its presence and its ceremonial and educational use will reinforce ethnic identity among *Xunaa Káawu*, especially youth.

## 2.2 Geographical and historical background of the project

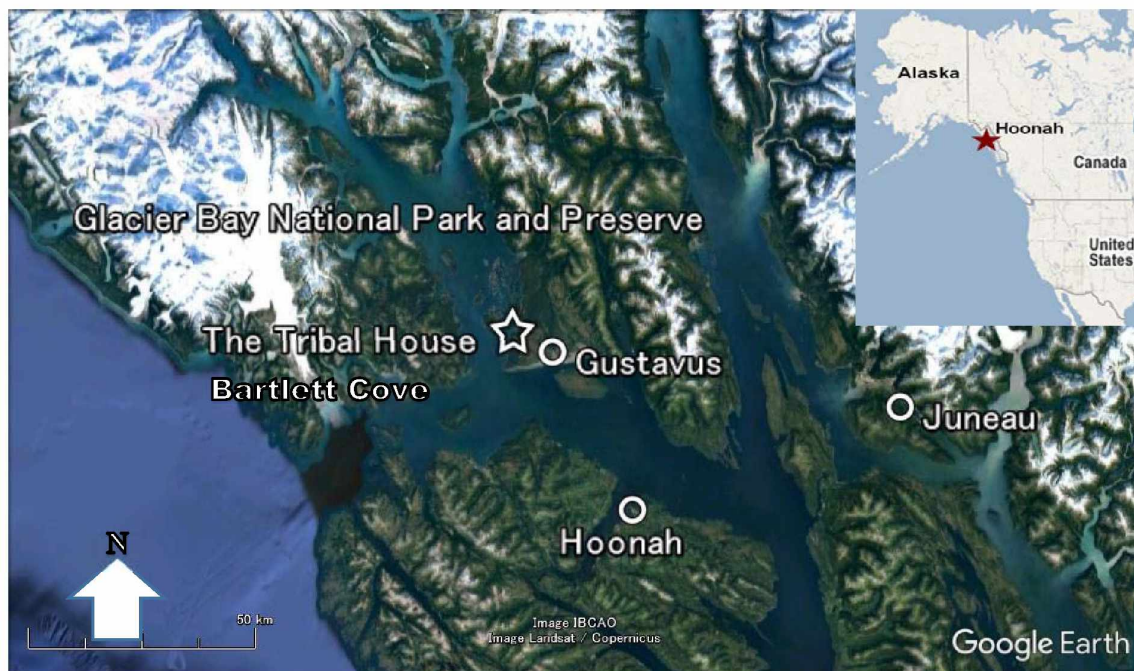


Figure 3. “Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Gustavus, Hoonah, Juneau,” Google Earth, accessed March 10, 2017. <https://www.google.com/earth/>

“Hoonah, Alaska: Getting Here,” Visithoonah.com, accessed June 4, 2017. <http://www.visithoonah.com/gettinghere.html>

The Tribal House is located at Bartlett Cove, in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP). It lies about 15 minutes by vehicle from the nearest town, Gustavus. The primary users of the House are local Tlingit people, who mainly live in Hoonah and Juneau, Alaska’s capital. The Alaska Marine Highway, the public ferry system connects Gustavus,

Hoonah, and Juneau. Approximately a two-hour commute separates Gustavus from Hoonah, and three-hours separate Hoonah from Juneau.

Table 1. Historical events

~early 1900 A.D.	<i>Xunaa Káawu</i> occupied several places in Glacier Bay
1754	<i>Xunaa Káawu</i> established a village, which has become the present town of Hoonah
1879	John Muir's first visit to Glacier Bay
1918	The Migratory Bird Treaty Act, which banned seagull egg gathering in Glacier Bay
1925	The establishment of Glacier Bay National Monument, which banned most hunting, fishing, and gathering in Glacier Bay
1970	The National Environmental Policy Act, which promotes the involvement of <i>Xunaa Káawu</i> with decision-making of GBNPP for planning, etc.
1980	The ANILCA--The establishment of GBNPP
Since the 1990s~	The collection of archaeological, ethnographical, and geological evidences started, which indicate the <i>Xunaa Káawu</i> 's occupation and their use of the Glacier Bay area since prehistoric times
1992	The <i>Xunaa Káawu</i> 's peaceful demonstration of protest at Bartlett Cove
1995	The HIA and GBNPP signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)
1997	The publication of the Comprehensive Design Plan Environmental Assessment, which is the first official written record on the Tribal House construction
2009	The start of designing artwork for the Tribal House
2010	The start of carving artwork for the Tribal House
2015	The start of the Tribal House construction in GBNPP
2016 August	The completion of the Tribal House construction The Dedication (open house ceremony) was held
2016 December	The HIA and the Hoonah City School held the first workshop for schoolchildren at the Tribal House

Official documents record that the Tribal House project started in 1997. In 1997, GBNPP publicized the idea of constructing the Tribal House in the Comprehensive Design Plan Environmental Assessment of Bartlett Cove. The Design Plan aimed to re-organize the Bartlett Cove area over a period of time. Bartlett Cove is the sole area where construction is allowed within Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, and the Bartlett Cove area was crowded with less organized structures at the time. The Comprehensive Design Plan Environmental Assessment officially identified the significance of recognizing the presence

of *Xunaa Káawu* at Bartlett Cove and their use of the area since pre-historic times.<sup>3</sup> GBNPP planned to construct an indigenous structure, a tribal house, to reestablish *Xunaa Káawu*'s cultural use of Glacier Bay, and to provide opportunities for the indigenous group to maintain their lifeways. GBNPP acknowledged the indigenous ways of using Glacier Bay in ceremonial, cultural, and educational manners, and intended to open the structure for tourism and use by the public. This Design Plan reflected the resolution submitted during a peaceful protest demonstration of 1992, during which *Xunaa Káawu* demonstrated their sincere wish to return to their ancestral land, Glacier Bay.

Clans of *Xunaa Káawu* had occupied several places around and within the Glacier Bay area since prehistoric times. However, in the 18th century, glaciers developed and flooded major coastal settlements, so that coastal villages became inaccessible underneath glaciers.<sup>4</sup> *Xunaa Káawu* had to abandon those villages and had to migrate out of the Bay. After the migration, the indigenous group continued harvesting in Glacier Bay through hunting, fishing, and gathering. Those subsistence activities, such as seagull egg gathering, seal hunting, berry picking, and so on, had endured as essential activities that educated younger *Xunaa Káawu* on their ancestral land, Glacier Bay. However, federal laws, such as the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (1918), and the establishment of Glacier Bay National

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3. National Park Service, "Comprehensive Design Plan Environmental Assessment: September 1997, Bartlett Cove, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska," (Gustavus, AK: Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, 1997), 7.

4. Cathy Connor et al., "The Neoglacial Landscape and Human History of Glacier Bay, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Southeast Alaska, USA," *The Holocene* 19, no. 3 (2009). This article is unique in its interdisciplinary methods for gathering and analyzing data, which compare geologic evidence and ethnographic records. Archeologists, ethnographers, anthropologists, and geologists collaborated to analyze how glacial changes impacted the occupation of *Xunaa Káawu* in Glacier Bay. This article notes correspondence between geological evidence indicating the past climate change from approximately 500 to 300 years ago, and eleven Tlingit place names of Glacier Bay. The correlation reveals that glaciers receded from the Bay in the past. Glacier Bay was not a bay but a terrestrial environment with a few rivers. Ancestors of *Xunaa Káawu* occupied the land between rivers, taking timbers from forests for houses and canoes. Then, approximately 250 years ago, at the end of the Little Ice Age, glaciers developed and advanced so rapidly that they filled the rivers' basin with ice and outwash. The growing glaciers overran and destroyed coastal villages. One of the authors, the archeologist Wayne Howell is one of my interviewees. He has engaged in the Tribal House project at GBNPP for over two decades.



Monument (1925) restricted most of these important activities. The restrictions detach *Xunaa Káawu* from their ancestral homeland, and *Xunaa Káawu* have been struggling to maintain the knowledge of their origins and their historical uses of Glacier Bay. The resolution submitted during the peaceful protest of 1992 was one of the *Xunaa Káawu*'s pursuits for accessibility to their ancestral homeland.

Based on a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) since 1995, the HIA had discussed and negotiated with GBNPP to plan the Tribal House design and construction with representatives of clans in Hoonah. GBNPP finalized the Comprehensive Design Plan Environmental Assessment of Bartlett Cove in 1997, reflecting public comments. In the process of designing the Tribal House, the HIA and GBNPP involved schoolchildren at the Hoonah City School, and several students made a mockup of the structure.<sup>5</sup> Because of financial difficulties, the construction of the Tribal House did not begin until 2015. However, the HIA and GBNPP began a relatively minor carving project in 2009, which artwork, such as four house posts and interior/exterior screens, was designed and carved for later attachment to the structure. The construction was completed in 2016 by attaching the artwork, four house posts and interior screens, to the structure. On the first day of Dedication of the Tribal House, August 25, 2016, the House opened to tourists, and the ceremony was broadcast. Hundreds of *Xunaa Káawu*, including approximately a hundred schoolchildren from third through twelfth grades, participated in the ceremony. On the second day of the Dedication, the *Xunaa Káawu*'s ceremonies organized by each clan were not open to the public. During winter break in the December of 2016, the Hoonah City School brought a few

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5. Carol Williams, interview by author, January 12, 2017. Carol Williams is *Xunaa Káawu*, and a teacher at the Hoonah City School. She has not been directly involved with the Tribal House project, but she talked me about the schoolchildren's participation in the project.

schoolchildren and Tlingit elders to the House, to educate the children on how to make Tlingit blanket costumes, as well as learning Tlingit songs and dances.

### 3. The research question and the significance of this research

#### 3.1 Examining the motivations for the project and its significance

This paper examines the motivations of the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA) and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP) in pursuing the construction of the Tribal House. The significance of the Tribal House project lies both in the uniqueness of the House and in the collaborative nature of the project. The concept of a tribal house is relatively new in Tlingit history. Normally, several clans from different moieties would not share one tribal house to represent Tlingit culture. *Clans* are familial and sociopolitical units in Tlingit culture, associated with Raven or Eagle *moieties* (groups).<sup>6</sup> For example, there are four major clans in Hoonah. Three clans of the four, the Chookaneidi, the Wooshkeetaan, and the Kaagwaantaan, belong to the Eagle moiety. The fourth one, the T'akdeintaan, belongs to the Raven moiety.<sup>7</sup> In general, each clan has its own clan house. The Tribal House in GBNPP, however, is for all *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area), including the four clans' members. My research therefore investigates: what motivates *Xunaa Káawu* to construct such an unusual Tribal House, not in Hoonah, but in Glacier Bay?

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6. Historically, *clan* has been the most significant concept in Tlingit culture. In contrast, *tribe* is a relatively new governmental term associated with the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. *Tribe* originally means "inhabitants of," which can be used to refer to the Sitka tribe or the Hoonah tribe, for instance. George Thornton Emmons and Frederica De Laguna, *The Tlingit Indians* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1991), 22. In this research, however, the meaning of *tribe* varied among participants. Some interviewees used *tribe* to refer to the HIA (the tribal government); others used it to refer to the consolidated (all) clans in Hoonah. To avoid confusion, I do not use the term *tribe* to refer to the Tlingit inhabitants at Hoonah. I use the term *Xunaa Káawu* to refer to Tlingit stakeholders of the Tribal House project, thereby including residents outside of Hoonah who identify themselves with the area.

7. Marlene Johnson, interview by author, January 5, 2017. Johnson is *Xunaa Káawu* and the ex-CEO of the HIA. Johnson has engaged in the Tribal House project for almost two decades. She is one of my interviewees.

The purposes or objectives of the Tribal House are also unique. Its promoters envision two principle objectives for the Tribal House: 1) to be used for local ceremonial and educational use, and 2) to provide a setting for the interpretation of Hoonah history and culture to the Park visitors.<sup>8</sup> The elders of *Xunaa Káawu* envisioned both of these objectives.<sup>9</sup> GBNPP constructed the Tribal House to share the history and culture of *Xunaa Káawu* with tourists; presenting the history of the Park lies within the mandate and mission of the National Park Service. The Tribal House is not a museum that displays historical and cultural objects, but rather a hall for actual use. Why is it important to *Xunaa Káawu* that the Tribal House operates as a functional hall in promoting tourism, rather than a museum? Exploring the HIA's motivation in promoting the project will offer insight on several topics, including the *Xunaa Káawu*'s aspirations for the future, Tlingit--National Park Service (NPS) relations, and the potential for cultural tourism in Glacier Bay.

The uniqueness of the Tribal House project also lies in the collaboration between the HIA and GBNPP. The partners have moved beyond past tensions surrounding the GBNPP's land and natural resource management policies, in particular its ban on subsistence uses of resources in the Park, to promote the project. The Tribal House, which is primarily to be used by local indigenous people, is the first such federal project. This project is the first time the NPS has built an indigenous structure in a park by fully funding its construction. The GBNPP's willingness to fund the project suggests the NPS hopes to resolve the past tension between itself and *Xunaa Káawu*. This research analyzes to what extent the GBNPP's motivations for promoting the Tribal House project agree or disagree with those of the HIA. Understanding the

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8. "Huna Tribal House Work Begins in August," Philip N. Hooe, accessed May 26, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/glba/learn/news/glacier-bay-np-tribal-house-work-begins-in-august.htm>. Hooe is the current Superintendent of GBNPP. He is one of my interviewees in this research.

9. Personal communication with Mary Beth Moss at GBNPP in pre-interview meetings, May 24, 2016. Moss is a cultural anthropologist for GBNPP and former Tribal Administrator/Cultural Resource Specialist for the HIA. She has engaged in the Tribal House project for over two decades. She is one of my interviewees.

GBNPP's motives will shed light on the likelihood that the NPS will be willing to pursue such a collaborative project with a Native group again, as a means of improving relations between indigenous communities and the NPS.

### 3.2 What does answering the research question mean in a larger sense?

My research will illuminate current national park management challenges. If the HIA's and GBNPP's motivations for the Tribal House project differ, the two governments' collaboration through the Tribal House project could heighten tension between the two. Also, if their objectives differ, the partners will have to find a means to cooperate for mutual benefit. In contrast, if the motivations for the project coincide, the Tribal House project could illustrate an example of Alaska Natives' pursuit of self-determination to foster their indigenous identity with the support of the federal government, as represented by the National Park Service (NPS). My project therefore will make a contribution as a case study for considering contemporary park management issues associated with NPS--indigenous community relations.

## 4. The assumptions grounding the research and its framework

### 4.1 The assumptions grounding this research

I have hypothesized that the motivations of the two partners in the Tribal House project, the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA) and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP) differ. This assumption originated partly in their contrasting views on the wilderness of Glacier Bay. The concept of *wilderness* is nonsensical to *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area).<sup>10</sup> *Xunaa Káawu* had

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10. Tetsuro Watsuji states that "the *erémia* of the Greeks, the *deserta* of Romans and more recent terms, such as *Wüste*, *waste*, *wilderness*, indicate more than merely a sand-sea. They signify a place where no-one lives, where



maintained their ancestral ties with Glacier Bay through subsistence activities, originated long before the Park's (National Monument's) establishment in 1925.<sup>11</sup> In sharp contrast, the Euro-American population has romanticized what it perceives as uninhabited wilderness, a pristine national landscape in Glacier Bay.<sup>12</sup> Since the recognition of Glacier Bay as

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there is no life, a violent and hateful place.” This original concept of *wilderness* is totally different from the wilderness in the United States, which refers to a natural landscape that humans have neither inhabited nor transformed. The concept of *wilderness* in the United States ignores Native Americans' presence and their use of the land for thousands of years. Watsuji, a Japanese philosopher and cultural historian, who was born in 1889 and died in 1960, explored the origin of differences between Japanese and western philosophy. He argued that the climate and other environmental factors unavoidably influence ways of thinking associated with human-nature relationships within cultures. For instance, Watsuji identifies major climate types with three symbols: 1) monsoon, 2) desert, and 3) meadow; then he posits three major human-nature relationships affected by these climate types. On the coastal belt of east-southeast Asia, monsoon climates of high temperatures and high humidity provide sufficient water to raise plants for food. However, monsoons often destroy human habitats. The intense humidity makes foods and manmade monuments perishable, and promotes forests to re-grow on fields. In such monsoon climates, residents recognize nature as being uncontrollable and governing humans, and they are often passive in the face of both natural blessings and disasters. In Arabia, Africa, and Mongolia, in contrast, extreme arid climates provide scarce water for raising crops. Residents in desert climates recognize nature as being uncontrollable and hostile to humans. Residents thus inevitably become aggressive to obtain essentials from nature, and nature symbolizes a death threat against human's efforts for survival. As a third group, in Europe, the combination of summer dryness and winter moisture promotes residents to transform forests to meadows. Under such relatively mild climates, nature provides fewer blessings and fewer disasters. Residents, therefore, comprehend nature as being submissive to humans and controllable by understanding natural processes. Tetsuro Watsuji, *A Climate: A Philosophical Study* (Tokyo, Japan: Printing Bureau, Japanese Government, 1961).

Holly Miller (2011) also analyzes wilderness as a challenge to be conquered by individual settlers in Euro-American culture. She argues that a wilderness of magnificent landscapes, rather than manmade monuments symbolized American greatness. The United States government designated national parks to distinguish pristine wilderness from the developed landscapes of civilized areas of the country. The government's designation of national parks as wilderness areas denies the Native Americans' inhabitation and use of their historical lands within park areas. Holly Miller, "Reconceptualizing the Wilderness: Native American Landscapes and Euro-American Control in America's National Parks," *HOHONU*, no. 9 (2011): 101-103.

One of my interviewees, Frank Wright Jr., commented that the term *wilderness* is not a word *Xunaa Káawu* or any indigenous groups in the United States recognize in their own languages. He said that for him, Glacier Bay is not wilderness, but home. Frank Wright Jr. is a Tlingit from Hoonah with ancestral ties to the Glacier Bay area, although he does not belong to a clan at Hoonah. Wright grew up and lives in Hoonah, and he has vivid memories of Glacier Bay. Frank Wright, Jr., interview by author, July 18, 2016.

11. Aron Crowell et al., *The Hoonah Tlingit Cultural Landscape in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve: An Archaeological and Geological Study* (Gustavus, AK: Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, 2013), 3-6. According to this book, the oldest archeological evidence of human occupation in Glacier Bay indicates that humans inhabited the area in 5,400 B.C. Several forms of evidence from sites that correspond to places in the *Xunaa Káawu*'s oral history reveal that occupation in modern times ranges at least from the 15th century to the early 20th century. The book also indicates the immigration pattern of each clan that settled in Glacier Bay from the 16th century to the early 20th century. Wayne Howell, a participant of this research, is one of the authors of this book.

12. Thomas F. Thornton, "A Tale of Three Parks: Tlingit Conservation, Representation, and Repatriation in Southeast Alaska's National Parks," *Human Organization* 69, no. 2 (2010). Thornton is a non-Native anthropologist who has engaged in ethnographic research in several national parks in Southeast Alaska for over fifteen years. Thornton argues that the official perception of GBNPP as an untamed wilderness and a precious, natural laboratory to be researched, ignores the historical settlement of *Xunaa Káawu* in Glacier Bay. Official history of GBNPP beginning with the John Muir's "discovery" of Glacier Bay (1879) is based on the

untouched wilderness, most subsistence and commercial hunting, fishing, and gathering have been banned in the Park as resource abuse. The official historical view of GBNPP thus completely ignores and contradicts the *Xunaa Káawu*'s oral history. The HIA and *Xunaa Káawu* recognize Glacier Bay as their homeland, whereas, GBNPP officially considers Glacier Bay to be virginal wilderness and public domain. GBNPP's official perception and park management policies, which ban significant hunting, fishing, and gathering in accordance with the culture of *Xunaa Káawu*, ignore the Tlingit people's historical occupation and use of the region. Given this tension between the perspectives of the HIA and GBNPP, their partnering on the Tribal House project, which implicitly recognizes the Tlingit people's history in the region, raises questions about the motivations of each partner. The following paragraphs summarize my hypothesis regarding the HIA's and GBNPP's motivations for the project.

Considering Hoonah history and culture associated with Glacier Bay, I hypothesized that the HIA views the construction of the Tribal House in GBNPP as a means of reconnecting the current *Xunaa Káawu* to their expropriated ancestral lands. Such reconnection would foster the Glacier Bay-based identity of *Xunaa Káawu* clans by holding ceremonies in the House, and through the sharing of their ancestral memories and clan histories. I presumed that the HIA expects to reconnect especially younger clan members with Glacier Bay. The reconnection of current clan members to their ancestral land through the Tribal House project strengthens each clan's identity by deepening knowledge of each clan's place of origin. I imagined that the affirmation of clan origins and identity through the

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idealization of GBNPP itself as unspoiled wilderness. Thus, GBNPP's natural resources have been preserved from local subsistence activities by maintaining the definition of Glacier Bay landscape as uninhibited, pristine wilderness.

Tribal House project was to be primarily a familial (clan-based), spiritual, and cultural reconnection project, from the insiders' viewpoint.

In contrast, I hypothesized that the GBNPP's motivation for the project lay in improving the public image of the Park's management, by avoiding Tlingit and broader public condemnation for expropriation of Glacier Bay from *Xunaa Káawu*. GBNPP has preserved the wilderness of Glacier Bay from subsistence resource use since the Park's inception. I supposed that the GBNPP's recognition of Glacier Bay as historically uninhabited wilderness had contributed to its preservation policies. Since the 1990s,<sup>13</sup> however, archeological, ethnographical, and geological researchers have confirmed the *Xunaa Káawu*'s ancestors' settlement in Glacier Bay. Oral histories also have documented that cultural ties with Glacier Bay have been maintained<sup>14</sup> through the knowledge of subsistence harvesting practices in the Bay.<sup>15</sup> Recently GBNPP has acknowledged the significance of gull egg harvests in the culture

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13. Daniel Monteith, "Ethics, Management, and Research in Glacier Bay, Alaska," *Teaching Ethics* 8, no. 1 (2007). Monteith states that the past tension had been maintained by the ethical gap in natural resource management concepts between *Xunaa Káawu* and the United States government. The indigenous group's subsistence activities had prevented resource depletion, because *Xunaa Káawu* monitored their own subsistence practices and maintained the custom of sharing the harvests among clans. *Xunaa Káawu* maintained their ethics for resource management of Glacier Bay by maintaining the Tlingit clan system and self-monitoring each clan's resource use. In contrast, GBNPP's ethics for preservation of the Park aligns with John Muir's romanticism of Glacier Bay as a pristine frontier. The federal government banned *Xunaa Káawu* from harvesting from Glacier Bay, especially seal hunting and seagull egg gathering, to prevent the "wilderness" from being spoiled. Monteith explains that academic research since the 1990s contributed to cross-understanding of the different ethics between the indigenous group maintaining subsistence and sharing customs, and the National Park Service as a preservationist. For example, since 2003, GBNPP and professional researchers conducted ethnographical research focusing on *Xunaa Káawu* methods of seagull egg gathering. The research contributed to the GBNPP's recent approval of *Xunaa Káawu* subsistence gull egg harvesting in the Park area. (Please refer to footnote 15.) Monteith is a professor of social science at the University of Alaska Southeast (UAS) in Juneau. He wrote this article based on his observations and research at Hoonah and GBNPP since the 1990s.

14. To see the oral history of clans associated with Glacier Bay, please refer to Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1987), 245-291. Nora Marks Dauenhauer is a Tlingit researcher who speaks fluent Tlingit language as her mother tongue. She has ancestral ties with Hoonah and the Glacier Bay area. Richard Dauenhauer was Nora's husband and a non-Native anthropologist.

15. To see Glacier Bay-based knowledge of harvests among current *Xunaa Káawu* people, please refer to Eugene S. Hunn et al., "Huna Tlingit Traditional Environmental Knowledge, Conservation, and the Management of a 'Wilderness' Park," *Current Anthropology* 44, no. S5 (2003). These authors are independent researchers, while the research was funded by GBNPP. Hoonah community leaders recommended interviewees for the research. Some interviewees quoted in this article said that they feel connected with Glacier Bay through gull egg gathering. Also please refer to Thomas F. Thornton, "Tleikw Aaní, the 'Berried' Landscape: The Structure of Tlingit Edible Fruit Resources at Glacier Bay, Alaska," *Journal Of Ethnobiology* 19, no. 1 (1999).

of *Xunaa Káawu*, and holds that their methods of harvesting are sustainable. GBNPP currently permits limited subsistence seagull egg gathering by *Xunaa Káawu* within the Park area, after considering the outcome of ethnographic and scientific research. These research findings and the oral history evidence would suggest that GBNPP would have to support the HIA's participation in the governance of Glacier Bay, given that the premise of the GBNPP's existence--to preserve the uninhabited and pristine wilderness--has collapsed. Yet, because the NPS continues to restrict other important subsistence uses of resources in GBNPP, I presumed the different motivations of the two partners.

#### 4.2 Challenges related to accuracy in qualitative and cross-cultural research

This research rests on the understanding that it is impossible to interpret and write about Alaska Native history and culture accurately without being mindful of multiple perspectives. Accuracy in qualitative and cross-cultural research, such as this investigation, cannot be pursued through striving for objectivity. Generally, only distancing oneself from research subjects emotionally can achieve objectivity in research.<sup>16</sup> In a double blind drug study, for example, neither researchers nor participants know who received a trial drug and who received a placebo. In such studies, objectivity achieved through emotional distance from research subjects furthers accuracy in the research.

In contrast, this research relies on building good relationships between the participants and myself as well as obtaining as much information as possible from the participants. Qualitative research, such as this, cannot be carried out while remaining emotionally distant from the research subjects. It is impossible for me to be absolutely objective in this research, because I have gained access to participant's views by developing trust with them. Thus, in

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16. Randy. Stoecker, *Research Methods for Community Change: A Project-Based Approach* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2012), 5-6. In this book, Stoecker argues that objectivity as a means of pursuing accuracy in qualitative research is self-contradictory.

this qualitative research, I strive for accuracy by building trust with respondents and obtaining information and perspectives from multiple persons, rather than being objective and emotionally distanced from interviewees.

Another barrier to objectivity in cross-cultural studies lies in the fact that the Native American and Alaska Native histories and cultural interpretations have been biased by being analyzed and written predominantly by non-Native men.<sup>17</sup> Most such writings ignore the authors' cultural and gender biases, as well as the self-interest that affects the analysis. In other words, Native American history has been the interpretation of indigenous history framed in Western-academic methodologies and worldviews. Most literature on U.S. indigenous history and culture written by non-Natives has been unconsciously Western-biased when the authors have disregarded Natives' contemporary voices. Since *etic* (outside) perspectives have informed most Native American history telling and cultural interpretation, referring to previously published accounts of indigenous history and culture risks furthering *etic*, rather than *emic* (inside) perspectives. As a consequence, in this cross-cultural study related to indigenous history and culture, I cannot pursue accuracy in my research by relying solely on previously published literature.

Mihesua (1998) emphasizes the importance of having multiple perspectives to analyze indigenous history and culture; that is, referring to contemporary Natives' voices that have both familial and cultural relationships to the research subjects.<sup>18</sup> Researchers must refer to

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17. Angela Cavender Wilson, "American Indian History or Non-Indian Perceptions of American Indian History?," in *Natives and Academics; Researching and Writing About American Indians*, ed. Devon A. Mihesuah (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 23. Wilson is a Dakota female writer and activist. She criticizes the exploitative academic acceptance of Native American history that does not consult with current indigenous groups to solicit their perspectives on their own history.

18. Devon A. Mihesuah, "Introduction," in *Natives and Academics; Researching and Writing About American Indians*, ed. Devon A. Mihesuah (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). Mihesuah is a biracial Choctaw and French female historian. In this introduction, Mihesuah illustrates how dominant Native American history and culture have been generalized and romanticized by non-Natives. She also critiques how such generalization and romanticism are exploitative of Native groups related to research subjects.

indigenous participants' contemporary views, as well as reviewing the published literatures, she argues. Mihesua also emphasizes the importance of questioning the cultural standpoints and motivations of both participants and researchers for cross-cultural studies such as this. To have multiple perspectives and to minimize misinterpretation, it is necessary to view critically the cultural and gender biases, standpoints, and motivations of both communicants of this research and the authors of previous literatures on Alaska Native history and culture. I also must make my standpoint and personal motivations clear to readers. In this qualitative and cross-cultural research, I therefore consider the standpoints and motivations of research participants and the authors of the Native literatures I have referenced, as well as my own standpoint and personal motivations for research, to take multiple perspectives into account.

#### 4.3 My standpoint, as it affects the accuracy of this research

I am a female non-Native researcher who obtained permission for this research from the HIA and GBNPP. One advantage of my standpoint is that I am culturally and politically neutral in the investigation of the two governments' motivations for the project. Being Japanese, I adhere to neither Tlingit culture nor Euro-American culture. I am also independent politically from both, because I have not obtained any funding from the HIA nor from GBNPP. In contrast, my disadvantages include that I am less knowledgeable about both cultures and the political relationship between the partners than the participants. I do not have any local co-researchers because of co-researchers' unavailability and my financial limitations. By lacking local co-researchers' collaborative contributions, I might have misinterpreted Hoonah history and culture and the collaboration between the HIA and GBNPP. In short, I must continually critically assess whether my assumptions and interpretations of the different motivations for the project are biased by my misunderstanding or analyzing insiders' voices from my own ethnocentric perspective. Finally, my mother

tongue is neither Tlingit nor English. I thus run the risk of being less accurate in transcribing the interview data than native speakers or not fully understanding the meaning of my respondents' words.

#### 4.4 My personal motivation for this research

My primary motivation to document the Tribal House project is to obtain a Master of Arts degree. Second, the project relates to my future goal, which is to promote local, cultural tourism development in rural Japan, by providing opportunities for tourists to learn Japanese culture associated with the ancestral way of living. After staying in Hoonah during August of 2015 and observing local tourism, my research focus has shifted from cultural tourism development in Hoonah to the Tribal House project within GBNPP. The main reason for the shift is that the Tribal House project allows the HIA to transmit their ancestral way of living to both *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) and tourists. I became interested in what has motivated the two partners to move beyond past tensions regarding subsistence practices within GBNPP to promote this project that will transmit *Xunaa Káawu* lifeways. I also became curious about the benefits and challenges that the partners will experience in interpreting Glacier-Bay based ancestral ways of living through the project.

In addition, my academic and career background is in landscape architecture. The landscape architecture genre covers national park management. From a landscape architecture perspective, I speculated that the Tribal House project could provide a means of analyzing the current relationship between National Park Service and local indigenous communities and the potential for other such collaborations. Thus, I chose to focus on the Tribal House project because it related to my interest and future goal of working in cultural tourism, and because it corresponded well with my academic and professional background.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1 Methods for data gathering

I conducted eleven interviews for this research. Robert Starbard, Tribal Administrator and CEO of the HIA, suggested I interview ten individuals of the eleven, who have been directly involved with the project at the HIA or GBNPP. The last respondent, Carol Williams, is not directly involved with the project. She allowed me to interview her, at my request, to explain the school children's participation in the project.

The research participants associated with the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA, the tribal government at Hoonah) and Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP) cannot be separated into entirely dichotomous parties. For example, Kenneth J. Grant is currently an employee of the GBNPP. He is also an elder of *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) and the ex-President of the HIA. Wayne Howell and Susan Boudreau have retired from GBNPP. Wayne Howell and Mary Beth Moss are not Tlingit, but have been adopted into the Chookaneidí clan in Hoonah. Mary Beth Moss is a cultural anthropologist with GBNPP, and she worked at the HIA previously. Gordon Greenwald became involved with the Tribal House project when he was a teacher at the Hoonah City School. Since his retirement, he has engaged in the project as a carver artist hired by the HIA. Carol Williams is also a teacher at the Hoonah City School. She is not an employee of the HIA or GBNPP.

In addition, most *Xunaa Káawu* participants belong to or have close familial relationships with the T'akdeintaan clan of the Raven moiety (group) or the Chookaneidí clan of the Eagle moiety. I was unable to find interviewees belonging to the Wooshkeetaan or the Kaagwaantaan clan, which are the other two of the four major clans in Hoonah.



Table 2. The list of interviewees. The brief descriptions below are data collected and confirmed by each interviewee from January to April 2017.

No.	Interview date	Interviewees	Brief description
1	July 13, 2016	Kenneth J. Grant	Management Assistant for GBNPP Ex-President of the HIA Born/Raised/Lives in Hoonah, AK
2	July 18, 2016	Frank Wright Jr.	Age 68: Tribal President of the HIA Born/Raised/Lives in Hoonah
3	August 11, 2016	Wayne Howell	Age 64 : Archeologist Retired from GBNPP Born/Raised in Cortez, Colorado Lives in Gustavus, AK
4	August 26, 2016	Susan Boudreau	The retired Superintendent at GBNPP Lives in Gustavus
5	September 9, 2016	Philip N. Hooge	The current Superintendent at GBNPP Lives in Gustavus
6	September 14, 2016	Mary Beth Moss	Cultural Anthropologist for GBNPP Former Tribal Administrator/Cultural Resource Specialist for the HIA Lives in Hoonah
7	October 12, 2016	Robert Starbard	Age 59: Tribal Administrator/CEO of the HIA Raised/Lives in Hoonah
8	October 14, 2016	Gordon Greenwald	Age 66: Tlingit carver artist Retired teacher from the Hoonah City School Born/Raised/Lives in Hoonah
9	January 5, 2017	Marlene Johnson	Age 81: Director Emeriti of the Sealaska Heritage Institute in Juneau, AK The ex-CEO of the HIA Mother of Robert Starbard
10	January 11, 2017	Darlene See	Age 57: Tribal House Coordinator/ Cultural Specialist at the HIA Born/Raised in Sitka, AK Ancestral ties with/Lives in Hoonah
11	January 12, 2017	Carol Williams	Age 65: School teacher at the Hoonah City School Born/Raised/Lives in Hoonah

My interview process involved asking semi-structured and open-ended questions. Most questions were composed of at least two sentences. I explained my reasons or views for asking the questions first, and then, I asked the question. For example, one question was: “I would like to know more about your contribution to the project. Could you explain your role in the project please?” Another question set was: “I presume that the motivations for the project seem different between the HIA and GBNPP. I hypothesize that the different motivations are derived from the past tensions between them. Do you think that any tension exists between the HIA’s motivations for the Tribal House project and the GBNPP’s motivations? And why (why not)?” Another question set asked: “Personally, I believe that the different views on wilderness between the National Parks Service and the Hoonah community have contributed to past tensions between the two. What are your views for the wilderness in GBNPP?” I also questioned the interviewees on the potential for cultural tourism by having the Tribal House in GBNPP: “The Tribal House is expected to introduce *Xunaa Káawu* history and culture to the Park visitors. How do you want the history and culture to be interpreted within the Tribal House?” Thus, I asked the interviewees about their relationships with the Tribal House project, their views on motivations for the project, their thoughts about the wilderness of Glacier Bay, and their ideas on how to interpret *Xunaa Káawu* history and culture within the Tribal House to tourists. Because I primarily interviewed government personnel, I did not provide compensation. All interviewees participated in my research voluntarily.

I stayed in Hoonah in August 2015 and in May 2016 for pre-interview meetings. The University of Alaska Fairbanks Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved my research as exempt for review on May 13, 2016.<sup>19</sup> GBNPP permitted me to conduct interviews and

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19. Please see Appendix 1 and 2.

suggested several possible interviewees at GBNPP on June 9, 2016. I also obtained a support letter for my research and a list of possible interviewees, including personnel both at the HIA and GBNPP, from Robert Starbard, CEO of the HIA, on June 12, 2016. Between July and October 2016, I conducted eight interviews by going back and forth between Hoonah, Gustavus, and GBNPP. I also observed the Dedication (open house ceremony) of the Tribal House in GBNPP on August 25-26, 2016. In December 2016, I sent a draft of my research summary to the eight interviewees, and I asked them to check it for accuracy. I also shared the draft with three possible interviewees to ask their views on my analysis. When I visited Juneau and Hoonah in January 2017, I received brief comments from some of the participants. They offered no negative comments on my summary. I conducted three more interviews during my stay at Hoonah in January 2017. I recorded all interviews with a voice recorder and a digital camera. I shared each audio/visual recording with the interviewee. I transcribed all interview recordings in MS Word, using the Express Scribe software. I also took notes of pre-interview meetings and my observations during my stay in these fields. I have relied upon my notes from pre-interview meetings and observations, as well as interview recordings.

## 5.2 Why oral history is the best method for this research

I chose the oral history method for this research. Oral history is a method for documenting, analyzing, and archiving oral sources through interviewing, recording, and transcribing. Oral history is suitable to access interests and struggles existing in everyday life that are too ordinary to be reported officially.<sup>20</sup> The method is effective for this research because it allows me to have access to contemporary views of *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit

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20. Bruce L. Berg and Howard Lune, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2012), 319.

people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) regarding their current connections with Glacier Bay through the Tribal House project. Investigating the contemporary Glacier-Bay based identities of *Xunaa Káawu* is essential for this research. I was able to investigate the current connections and identities only by listening carefully to the voices of promoters of the project.

Most Tlingit elders who identified the core idea for the Tribal House project about two decades ago have passed away. No documents currently record the thoughts of these elders directly. There was no way for me to learn about the original motivations from the elders, except by seeking promoters' memories on the origins of the project through interviewing.

To explore the governmental motivations for the project, I needed not only to refer to governmental documents or published literature, but to seek the personal perspectives of participants at the HIA and at GBNPP who have promoted the project. By seeking the personal perspectives of various personnel at the partnering governments, I expected to gather accurate insider knowledge of the motivations for the project. Asking open-ended and semi-structured questions about interviewees' views about the Tribal House project, and then analyzing their responses, allowed me to come to conclusions, based on these insiders' perspectives, about to what extent the motivations of the two partners correspond.

### 5.3 The method for analysis of the interviews

The method I used to analyze my interviews is data coding. Coding in qualitative inquiry, like this research, is identifying words and phrases that capture some essence that invites analysis within the interviews.<sup>21</sup> Data coding is a method for analyzing transcribed data

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21. Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009), 3.

of oral sources, by identifying key ideas within the transcriptions. First, I transcribed all the interviews as I listened to the audio recordings. Next, I determined broad categories<sup>22</sup> such as interviewees' views for the (HIA's/GBNPP's) motivations, uniqueness of the (House/project), participants' challenges in promoting the project, their understandings of the concept of wilderness within Glacier Bay, and their ideas on cultural tourism, and so on. I determined these categories based on my research questions. Then, I read through the transcriptions of the interviews as I listened again to the audio recordings, and I highlighted sentences that corresponded with the categories. I also identified and highlighted additional categories, such as "reconnection," "repatriation," "mission," "contemporariness," "cultural resource," "benefits/challenges," etc. Finally, I noted similarities in the highlighted sentences and identified key words among the similarities.

## 6. Findings

### 6.1 The Hoonah Indian Association's (HIA's) motivations

Vivian F. Martindale (2008) concluded, based on her interviews<sup>23</sup> of nine *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) that the following three factors limit contemporary Hoonah people from their full identification as *Xunaa Káawu*: 1) the loss of Tlingit language and the struggle for language revitalization, 2) less Tlingit subsistence food availability from Glacier Bay, owing to regulations and resultant conflicts, and 3) fewer opportunities to participate in *koo.éex'* (memorial gatherings). She nevertheless found that the *Xunaa Káawu* identity continues to be grounded in the ancestral landscapes of Glacier Bay. She also states that the Tlingit worldview continues to be reflected

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22. Berg and Lune, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, 364-367, 373.

23. Martindale, "Lingít Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit," Abstract, 111. Her nine interviewees are *Xunaa Káawu*. Martindale is also *Xunaa Káawu* who was born and raised in Wrangell and has lived in both Hoonah and Sitka. She spent most of her forty-six years in these places by maintaining cultural ties with her ancestral landscape, including Glacier Bay. She wrote the thesis to aid in her children's identification as *Xunaa Káawu*.

in oral histories maintained by each clan (the Tlingit familial and sociopolitical unit). Similar to Martindale's thesis revealing her concerns for her children's identification as *Xunaa Káawu*, my research participants at the HIA affirmed that a primary purpose of the Tribal House in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP) is to reconnect the current *Xunaa Káawu*, especially the younger generations, with their ancestral land. Such reconnection will be clan-based and sacred in Tlingit culture. Participants also said that the reconnection will foster Glacier Bay-based identity amongst clan members through ceremonial and educational use of the House, including language workshops and memorial gatherings. Kenneth J. Grant, the ex-president of the HIA and current Management Assistant for GBNPP responded:

...yes, [the Tribal House] is not traditional. But to me, the spirit is there. The ancestors will be there... I think that, having the house posts, and having the screens, and [chiseled] walls, I'm pretty sure that we are... the spiritual place. And it is truly the spiritual place for us. The stories that are in the house posts are very sacred. So, it will be a place for learning for the young people. It'll be for learning to speak the language, or about our protocol. I think that the protocol sounds pretty good.<sup>24</sup>

Robert Starbard, Tribal Administrator and CEO of the HIA also noted:

Our motivation is to preserve our culture, is to preserve our authorities, to preserve our ties to homeland.... We're not just trying to preserve what we have now. I'm trying to grow it and cultivate it [for the] next generation, youth of today, 30-under group.<sup>25</sup>

These *Xunaa Káawu*'s comments suggest that people associated with the HIA believe that the Tribal House, when it is used for local ceremonies and education, will affirm younger clan

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24. Kenneth J. Grant, interview by author, July 13, 2016. Grant is *Xunaa Káawu*. He grew up at Hoonah but had left. He returned to Hoonah around 1990 and has been involved with the project for over two decades.

25. Robert Starbard, interview by author, October 12, 2016. Starbard is *Xunaa Káawu* and has been involved with the Tribal House project since 2010 as the tribal administrator and the CEO of the HIA. Marlene Johnson is his mother.

members' identity through reconnection with this historical place where ancestral spirits linger.

Not only does the Tribal House reconnect *Xunaa Káawu* to their ancestral land and affirm their identity, but the House will also be used to educate tourists that Glacier Bay is the *Xunaa Káawu* homeland. Robert Starbard noted:

[The Tribal House is] sort of the repatriation of the Park in a symbolic manner. That's what it really did represent....It is our footprint. It is our anchor. It is our hold back on the traditional homeland....And that is true in almost any society that you can be a hunter and a gatherer, and you can move around. When you have fixed a house to a location, and say "this is where I live, this is where I stay, this is where I was born, this is where I get my soul from," that changes. That's what the Tribal House really does represent....This...now becomes the focal point for the Hoonah Tlingits' claim upon our traditional homeland and the rights to go back in, eventually we hope, [and reassert unextinguished rights] that we had to the area [including] fishing, hunting, and gathering, and stuff in the areas. We had traditionally done those activities. This, the Tribal House, represents [that] first step.

Marlene Johnson, the ex-CEO of the HIA, recalled why the *Xunaa Káawu* elders proposed the Tribal House project:

At first, we didn't have the vision of a clan house or tribe house there. We just wanted to get back into Glacier Bay to use the Bay as we used to. And eventually, we got that we need to build a house. We had to have a structure that shows to the world that "we are here."<sup>26</sup>

According to Tlingit carver, Gordon Greenwald:

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26. Marlene Johnson, interview by author, January 5, 2017. Johnson is *Xunaa Káawu* and the ex-CEO of the HIA. Johnson has engaged in the Tribal House project for almost two decades. Robert Starbard is her son.

I like to think [the Tribal House] is one corner post of many to say, “This land is our land. This is our home.” So it's the beginning of that marking that says proof. It's not just our oral history, as many times we often say our stories. But this is physically, you can walk up and look at [the Tribal House] and say, “Well, yeah, [*Xunaa Káawu*] were here and they are still here.”<sup>27</sup>

Thus, by having the Tribal House in GBNPP, the HIA expects to reenter their ancestral homeland, Glacier Bay, showing tourists the validity of the indigenous group's claim to the Park land. The HIA expects that having the indigenous structure in the Park land and interpreting their history, which originated in the Glacier Bay area, will restore the Park land to *Xunaa Káawu* in a symbolic manner.

In addition, the HIA recognizes the significance of educating the Park personnel, as well as tourists, on *Xunaa Káawu* history and culture. Darlene See, Tribal House Coordinator and Cultural Specialist at the HIA stated:

... we're hoping to involve other people. And it's really important because the National Park Service serves various people within national parks, whether it is coming to and visiting there and go on walking tours, or else.... They're on tour ships coming to Glacier Bay. And so, it's really important to educate them also about Hoonah history...because they have their seasonal interpreters. So, the HIA would like to have information and some cultural training to help and strengthen their [interpreters'] cultural knowledge.<sup>28</sup>

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27. Gordon Greenwald, interview by author, October 14, 2016. Greenwald is *Xunaa Káawu* and a carver who designed and created the pieces of art of the Tribal House since 2009.

28. Darlene See, interview by author, January 11, 2017. Darlene See is biracial of Tlingit and Aleut heritage. She was born and raised in Sitka. She has ancestral ties with the Glacier Bay area. She has engaged in the Tribal House project since 2015.



Marlene Johnson also remembered that educating superintendents of GBNPP had been one of the reasons for launching the project:

...and it was hard working with the number of [GBNPP] superintendents who came that just followed books and they didn't see the connection between our claiming Glacier Bay [while] we're living over in Hoonah. So, we decided that we needed to work on a tribe house.

The Tribal House therefore can be seen as an affirmation of *Xunaa Káawu* identity and a metaphorical restitution of the Glacier Bay area, by demonstrating to tourists and the Park employees the *Xunaa Káawu*'s cultural ties with the Bay from the past to the present time.

## 6.2 The Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve's (GBNPP's) motivations

According to the NPS's webpage, the National Park Service (NPS)'s mission is to preserve "unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the National Park System for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations."<sup>29</sup>

GBNPP supports the Tribal House project primarily because it is a mission of the NPS to interpret Glacier Bay history to tourists. This mission, especially of preserving cultural resources and values of the National Park System to educate and inspire this and future generations, takes precedence in this project over the GBNPP's motivation to maintain its authority to govern Glacier Bay and protect the environment as wilderness. An interpreter at GBNPP told me the following:

The reason why the National Park Service has promoted the project is, because it is a mission of the Park Service to interpret and educate visitors of the Park about the history and the culture of Glacier Bay....Glacier Bay is Hoonah people's homeland....However, there are no displays for tourists to explain it. The Tribal House

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29. "About Us," National Park Service, accessed June 12, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/index.htm>.

therefore would contribute greatly to the reconnection of [*Xunaa Káawu*] and Glacier Bay National Park, by interpreting their history and culture to the Park visitors.<sup>30</sup>

Philip N. Hooge, the current Superintendent at GBNPP, also explained the significance of representing the partnership between the HIA and GBNPP to the public, to maintain the value of the Park as public domain opened not just for Euro-American citizens but also for various cultural groups including Alaska Natives:

I think [the Tribal House] represents a new type of relationship with [*Xunaa Káawu*] that is much deeper and meaningful, and helps advance how the Park deals with diverse populations and maintains relevancies, [and] importance of connectivity of the next century....Parks are not just for white, Anglo-Saxon Americans, but [they're] open to many different cultures. And many of those different cultures can find connections in the land. About most important in the land is, [and] about most important for the Park Service, are surviving and keeping [a] dream alive....It's truly believed that the Park Service is a dream that was one of the very important things that this country has done....It took an idea of lands [that normally would be owned by] the wealthy or kings and queens, and built the concept of parks [which] are available to all. That's a broad ownership. And so, to me, [the Tribal House] is very much a part of the Park Service story. But [the Tribal House] is also an important step in a different direction....One could feel that at the opening that the [*Xunaa Káawu*] and the Park Service [had] reached a place of significant, meaningful understanding.<sup>31</sup>

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30. Personal communication with an interpreter at GBNPP, August 4, 2015. The interpreter is not one of my interviewees due to the person's unavailability in summer 2016.

31. Philip N. Hooge, interview by author, September 9, 2016. Hooge has been the Superintendent of GBNPP since 2014 and has been directly involved with the Tribal House project.

Hooge also noted the responsibility of the National Park Service to inspire the broader public by preserving the indigenous stories of Glacier Bay in an appropriate way, just as the NPS preserves and interprets other national and cultural treasures:

My views about the [NPS's] responsibilities [lie] in preserving both the natural resources defined in the organic legislation, but also preserving...cultural aspects....Preserving this [*Xunaa Káawu*'s] story [is] as important as preserving other physical [cultural] objects, [such as] the Statue of Liberty, or those other physical things. These are cultural treasures that we need [the audience] broadly. We brought the Tlingit in [to the Park] to help them preserve their culture [not just] for their inspiration, but also for the broad public's [inspiration]. And the Park Service has the responsibility to insure that the public is inspired in an appropriate way.

Thus, GBNPP has promoted the Tribal House project to affirm the value of the Park as a true public domain. Through the Tribal House project, GBNPP officially acknowledges the presence of *Xunaa Káawu* in Glacier Bay since before the establishment of the National Monument, and intends to impress the broader public with the Park's value by interpreting *Xunaa Káawu* history originating in Glacier Bay in an appropriate way.

Pursuing its mission by promoting the project reveals a paradigm shift in the NPS's presentation of Glacier Bay history from beginning with the "discovery" of Glacier Bay by John Muir in 1879, to the inclusive history of both pre-history as told by *Xunaa Káawu* and the written history after the "discovery." Wayne Howell, an archeologist, who has engaged in this project for over two decades at GBNPP, remembered how he recognized the importance of telling the pre-history of Glacier Bay in this project:

When we first went through the original designing process, for example, we really didn't have a good understanding of the nature of the historical relationship [between

*Xunaa Káawu* and Glacier Bay]. There are some wonderful oral traditions. They're related to the time in the ancestral past when they lived...with glacier somewhere in [a] valley. And we decided early on that [it] would be good to recognize that history and that connection as [an] element of this project.<sup>32</sup>

The paradigm shift to an inclusive Glacier Bay history of both pre-history and recorded history requires collaboration with the HIA to present oral history maintained by *Xunaa Káawu*. The Tribal House project furthers the NPS mission to tell Glacier Bay history fairly to tourists by acknowledging that the Bay is the *Xunaa Káawu* homeland.

Susan Boudreau, the retired Superintendent at GBNPP discussed the NPS's mission and this acknowledgement:

... people go, and learn about the values of the land and the people who first established their homes inland of the National Park....The mission of Glacier Bay National Park is incredible why it was established. But...when it was established, it still was Hoonah homeland. And that's what is extremely important to always remember. And having respect for everybody and treating people equally to make decisions, is what I think [would be a wonderful future].<sup>33</sup>

Mary Beth Moss, Cultural Anthropologist for GBNPP and the former Tribal Administrator/Cultural Resource Specialist for the HIA, also stressed the acknowledgement of the *Xunaa Káawu* homeland as GBNPP's motivation for the project:

...I honestly believe that the Park Service had no motive other than to respond to a clear and valid request to recognize that Glacier Bay is traditional homeland for [*Xunaa Káawu*]....We needed to acknowledge that in a physical way. And the Tribal

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32. Wayne Howell, interview by author, August 11, 2016. Wayne has engaged in the Tribal House project at GBNPP for over two decades.

33. Susan Boudreau, interview by author, August 26, 2016. Susan Boudreau had been the Superintendent of GBNPP from 2010-2014 and was directly involved with the Tribal House project.

House happened to be the physical way that we could acknowledge that strong cultural connection....I think that's the Park Service's original motivation. I don't wanna say I think. I was there, and I was in the leadership role. My motivation, and I believe I can speak for the Superintendent, my motivation was to respond to a valid request for acknowledgement that Glacier Bay was traditional homeland, and to reflect the acknowledgement in a physical way with the Tribal House.<sup>34</sup>

In short, GBNPP has acknowledged Glacier Bay's history including the oral history of *Xunaa Káawu*'s existence in Glacier Bay since long before the establishment of Glacier Bay National Monument. GBNPP therefore constructed the Tribal House as tangible evidence of the indigenous group's historical and current presence in the Glacier Bay area.

GBNPP's acknowledgement of Glacier Bay pre-history as valid history, following a long era of presenting the bay as discovered, serves to heal past conflicts between *Xunaa Káawu* and the National Park Service. Wayne Howell, a retired archeologist with GBNPP, recognized the significance of the acknowledgement in fostering healing:

...I came to the realization that until Glacier Bay's people were re-integrated with the landscape, this place would never be whole. And until that happened, it would never be at peace. Until the [*Xunaa Káawu*] were brought back into the Park, and made to feel at home and made to feel a part of what they hold so dear, Glacier Bay National Park would never be at peace. There would always be unrest. And so... the Tribal House [is] just one step in the process. It's not a final solution. Who knows what the final solution is. But it was one significant step in the process and it was what [*Xunaa Káawu*] asked for....And then, we figured out how to make it happen, working

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34. Mary Beth Moss, interview by author, September 14, 2016. Moss has engaged in the Tribal House project for over two decades.

together with them....Basically, “making [Glacier Bay] whole” was a part of, a lot of, my motivations.

Mary Beth Moss also spoke to this recognition in terms of reconciliation:

...I think that on the part of the Park Service, we recognized that we had a lot of apologizing to do....I don't think the agency had been a very good listener or communicator in the past. And so, when Wayne and I would come, we recognized we had to listen....we kept coming back, no matter what [Hoonah] people said, we would keep coming back....Then, Wayne and I also recognized that we had to start a little project, like little, tiny projects that were successful. And so that's how the journey to homeland started, where we would bring people over to pick berries, or bring people, school kids...go up to glacier. So we tried little projects that would be successful as [a] way to show that we cared and we [were] committed to building our relationship....So that [*Xunaa Káawu*] could feel good working together.

Thus, GBNPP promoted the Tribal House project to further its mission to preserve cultural resources and values of the Park. GBNPP considers that the greatest value of the Park as a public domain rests in its acknowledgement of both pre-history and written history of Glacier Bay, and the collaboration between the HIA and GBNPP. The acknowledgement also symbolizes the healing of past conflicts between *Xunaa Káawu* and the NPS, and establishing a good mutually respectful relationship.

### 6.3 The significance of contemporariness in the history telling and cultural interpretation within the Tribal House

The Tribal House is not a museum, but a hall for actual use for ceremonies or education, because *Xunaa Káawu* cultural connections with Glacier Bay must not be seen as

classical, but contemporary. Mary Beth Moss emphasized the importance of interpreting current Hoonah history and culture:

[The suggested structure from *Xunaa Káawu*] wasn't just a building that visitors would walk by, and look at the outside, and say "Oh, the Tlingit people used to live here." So I think, as we continued to talk... both organizations [of the HIA and GBNPP] realized this is not just a museum. This is a building that we could actually use... It could have been a rock with a plaque that says, "Tlingit people were here."... [However], we just chose the Tribal House because that's what [*Xunaa Káawu*] here suggested. So, I think the idea [was to have] the building being used for ceremonies, or board meetings, or language workshops, or retreats.

Moss's comments expresses the Park personnel's understanding, and an evolved official position on the part of the National Park Service, that the *Xunaa Káawu* have lived and thrived in this area for thousands of years and that their culture and lifeways endure, just as the people do. The "journey to the homeland" projects Moss mentioned also clearly acknowledge the people's history in the Park and a willingness to foster the revitalization of *Xunaa Káawu* lifeways in the Park.

The contemporariness of the *Xunaa Káawu* culture contributes to the uniqueness of the Tribal House and the project. From the HIA's perspective, the Tribal House project is primarily a clan-based cultural reconnection project of *Xunaa Káawu* to their ancestral land, Glacier Bay, which affirms their identity and their rightful place in the region. The reconnection also intends to restore the Park land in a symbolic manner. This metaphorical restitution of the Park land requires the presence of park visitors, to provide an audience to explain the validity of the restoration. In other words, through the interpretation of *Xunaa Káawu* contemporary ties with the Bay to the public, the HIA demonstrates that *Xunaa Káawu* still belong in the Park land.

However, the representation of contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* ties with Glacier Bay has required an adjustment to *Xunaa Káawu* identity. Historically, the identity is organized according to clan, rather than the concept of tribe. The representation of the contemporary connections between *Xunaa Káawu* and Glacier Bay at the Tribal House requires a consolidation of clan-based culture. Marlene Johnson, the ex-CEO of the HIA, explained how the people came around to this solution:

To be Eagle and Raven [moieties, groups] on the same [side], it just wasn't the thing [that had been] done. So, it took a lot of thinking and talking, and realizing that this was not going to be the total part of our culture that is explained. But it's going to symbolize--particularly to the Park Service--that we are, this is our house, and we belong here.

Several other *Xunaa Káawu* I interviewed also referred to the unavoidability of shifting from clan-based to tribe-based representation and the cultural implications of this shift. For example, Gordon Greenwald, Tlingit carver, explained the consolidated design of clans' ties with Glacier Bay, which his artwork on the Tribal House depicts. Each of the four house posts depicts one of the four clans, rather than all of them depicting the same clan, as they would be in a clan house. Thus, in the four separate posts, Greenwald has incorporated the symbolism of the four separate clans. The exterior screen also represents all clans in Hoonah, rather than just one clan. The Tribal House, then, represents all *Xunaa Káawu*:

...so that I could represent properly the history of the four clans on the interior screen and each of the four house posts, again, which is non-traditional. Because traditionally, four house posts [in a clan house] would have been all one clan's oral history, not four clans' oral history. And then, the exterior screen [was designed] to represent all of the Tlingit people of Hoonah.... We were trying to make [the Tribal House] feel like a traditional clan house.... We're using [the Tribal House] differently



because we aren't going to live in there like a clan family might have lived in, but for ceremonies, and other cultural purposes, hopefully we'll use it.... This house, the Tribal House, is different than [clan houses] used to be, but we are changing with the times. And we're going on.... We would have had to have four clan houses, instead of one. It wouldn't have happened.... [The NPS] wouldn't give us the space for four clan houses. It wouldn't give us money for four clan houses.... In order to perpetuate and continue on and get something as a footprint in the Park, this was what we had to do.

Spatial and financial limitations thus contributed to the consolidated representation of contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* culture throughout this project. In addition, the goal to have a physical footprint of the existence of *Xunaa Káawu* in the Park land and the desire to perpetuate the culture requires the Tribal House to be a gathering place for *Xunaa Káawu*, regardless of their clans and moieties, to conduct ceremonies and promote education together, and to share clan-based cultural knowledge. Robert Starbard, CEO of the HIA, spoke of this cultural shift:

[Clan leaders] also will be able to convey back to the clan members the importance of this new paradigm that tribe [the HIA] is helping to preserve access to claims of ownership over Glacier Bay and their traditional homeland. In fact, [this] helps each of the clans collectively and so, they were very much proponents of the project in terms of *haa aaní*, our land, or *woosh.ji.een*, pulling together, these types of things. And a lot of them use those terms whenever they're addressing the clans either individually within their own clans, or when clans gather such as in semi-annual clan conferences, that only by pulling together, we are able to basically preserve and conserve what we presently have, and then, build upon it.... We present a new culture.

Because of the demands for representing the contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* culture to the public in the Park, the representation requires this shift from clan-based to tribe-based

culture, even though *tribe* is a term introduced by the government that had been unfamiliar to *Xunaa Káawu*. Not just the spatial and financial limitations in the Park, but also the desire for perpetuating the culture, contribute to the consolidated representation of *Xunaa Káawu* clan-based culture through this project.

From the GBNPP's perspective, on the other hand, the contemporariness of the culture refers to the adaptability of *Xunaa Káawu* to modernity, including the National Park System. Mary Beth Moss explained:

...I think [that the Tribal House is] a place to interpret to the American people how the Tlingit culture has adapted over time....I think we do a disservice to indigenous people when we say "we think your life 500 years ago was beautiful and that's how we want to remember you." We do disservice rather than saying, "we think your life 500 years ago was beautiful. And we recognize that you've adapted to the changing world. And we think your life today has a beauty. Perhaps it's a different kind of beauty, but it still has beauty." That's what I think the Tribal House can say to people....The Park Service and the tribe made a purposeful decision not to recreate history but to reflect history in a modern way.

Telling the public about the adaptation of *Xunaa Káawu* to modernity has required creating the Tribal House as an interpretation of contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* culture under current National Park Service management. Philip N. Hooge, the current Superintendent of GBNPP, also emphasized that the Tribal House is a modern interpretation of Tlingit values, and the House may inspire the NPS itself to comprehend indigenous relationships with their ancestral lands:

The National Park Service did not build [the Tribal House] for a recreation....This wasn't a restoration of some traditional structure that was here....What [the Tribal House represents] is a modern interpretation... of the Tlingit values, and their

culture....What we did was [bringing] the individuals who are still knowledgeable about the traditional techniques, and [having them interpret] those stories in new ways resonated with the Tlingit....There were three objectives inside the Tribal House partnership, which is just a subset of the National Park--tribal partnership....The three objectives were [first] to anchor the Tlingit in their homeland to provide a place [to] insure that they felt comfortable, and felt a part. The second objective was to provide something that would be able to be used to interpret Tlingit traditions, values, [and] culture to the public in a sensitive way with [*Xunaa Káawu*] telling their own stories. And the third objective was to provide for some administrative functions inside the Park that were appropriate for use... [The NPS] will use the facility because... it helps to communicate about the connection of [Alaska Natives] to landscapes, and to inspire the Park Service to do the right thing.

Hooge expects the Tribal House to inspire the National Park Service by inviting Park Service personnel outside GBNPP and explaining the Tribal House as tangible evidence of *Xunaa Káawu* presence in the Park, as they use the facility for administrative objectives, such as meetings of park superintendents. Acknowledging the contemporariness of the *Xunaa Káawu* culture is thus essential as GBNPP conveys the adaptability of the indigenous group under the current National Park System. The GBNPP's appreciation of current relationship between *Xunaa Káawu* and their ancestral landscapes within the Park lands may inspire the NPS personnel outside GBNPP and other Alaska Natives and Native American groups, as well as the general public.

Robert Starbard, CEO of the HIA, suggested the Tribal House could have a greater long term impact by emphasizing the *Xunaa Káawu*'s part in the ecosystem of Glacier Bay. He explained that *Xunaa Káawu* presence has been neglected from official records of Glacier Bay, and his vision as *Xunaa Káawu* implies a shift in the NPS and public perceptions toward

a greater understanding of the *Xunaa Káawu*'s integral part in the nature and history of the region:

So my expectation is that [we will use] the Tribal House as a catalyst for continuing education, cultural events, and interaction. One will continue to inform the American people of the importance of [*Xunaa Káawu*] to the environment that is Glacier Bay, that it is more than just glaciers, fjords, and mountains, and mountain goats, and moose, and howling wolves. But [*Xunaa Káawu*] were an intricate part of that eco-system... [*Xunaa Káawu*] themselves are [like an] endangered species and need to be re-introduced to the Park and become a part of that environment and eco-system. My hope, my expectation, my dream is that the Tribal House is the first step of being able to say [we are an] endangered species and re-introduce us to the environment.

The contemporariness of the *Xunaa Káawu* culture, as represented in the Tribal House therefore, is the greatest priority for the HIA. The project officially cements the NPS's and the public's recognition of Glacier Bay as *Xunaa Káawu* homeland, both historically and presently. Simultaneously, the metaphorical restitution of Glacier Bay as their homeland requires a consolidated representation of *Xunaa Káawu* clan-based culture based on the concept of *tribe*. The representation of the contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* culture through the project reflects and publicizes the adaptation of the indigenous group to modernity under the current National Park System. By conveying the adaptation and the two partners' current relationships, GBNPP expects to inspire other national parks on the necessity of comprehending Alaska Natives' and Native Americans' ties with their ancestral landscapes within national parks. The telling of the adaptation of *Xunaa Káawu* culture to modernity will break the illusion among the public that this indigenous culture has been unchanged since pre-historic times. The history telling will foster the recognition of *Xunaa Káawu* as influential inhabitants of the environment and ecosystem of Glacier Bay.

#### 6.4 Short-term and long-term benefits of collaboration through the project

The Tribal House provides direct economic benefits to *Xunaa Káawu* by promoting cultural tourism in the Park and by providing employment opportunities for *Xunaa Káawu* as interpreters with the GBNPP. The project also provides long-term cultural benefits through the maintenance of the Tribal House. The HIA is pleased that the House is going to be maintained under federal laws and regulations for future generations of *Xunaa Káawu*. As a brand-new structure, the Tribal House itself currently is not a historical heritage of the Park. However, the stories behind the House, which the house posts and screens of the House depict, and the stories shared in ceremonies and educational activities within the House, are heritages that will be maintained for the future. Thus, the Tribal House is a visual frame that contains invisible heritage associated with Glacier Bay history. The HIA is pleased to have the Tribal House maintained for the future by the federal government as a physical depository of Hoonah history and culture. Gordon Greenwald responded to my question about the Tribal House's historical meaning in Glacier Bay National Park with the following:

... this was a National Park project in the United States within the Park where they paid to acknowledge that indigenous people lived in the Park.... You can go to Grand Canyon National Park and there's Navaho dwellings there. But they were built by Navaho. The Park now maintains them, but they weren't built by the Park.... So I think that's a historical acknowledgement to the Park hierarchy of management....

[Secondarily] it gives us a footprint in the Park physically and visually to say "Yes, this is not just place where you come and see sea otter or humpback whales or glaciers, but this is where the [*Xunaa Káawu*] lived." And we want to continue to be known as inhabitants of that land. And that is our homeland. That's where we came from before we settled here, Hoonah.... [And thirdly] is cultural elements that we carved and we provide the chapter titles to the oral history.... That's the historical part

for our own younger generation to learn. And so, there's a multi-faceted answer to what the historical part of this is. And because it's being maintained in the Park with federal moneys, [the Tribal House] will be there hopefully for hundreds of years.

Greenwald's comment stresses, in other words, that the Tribal House construction is the first attempt by the NPS to create a new cultural resource and future historical heritage of the Park, by acknowledging that the Park land has historically belonged to an indigenous group. The oral history depicted in the artwork of the Tribal House enhances the authenticity of the newly created cultural resource, which the NPS built. The NPS supports *Xunaa Káawu*'s public presentation of their oral history to enhance the authenticity of its newly formed cultural resource, even though the oral history contradicts the NPS's legal possession of the Park lands.

Susan Boudreau also expressed the prospective vision that she claims the HIA and GBNPP share:

The HIA and the National Park Service all had the same vision. We wanted to build the "traditional" Tribal House for the twenty first century at Bartlett Cove.

The research participants representing the HIA and GBNPP concur that the two governments have collaborated in constructing the Tribal House as a future historical heritage of the Park, although the House is currently a new and unusual depository of *Xunaa Káawu* invisible heritage. Given the benefits to the HIA in preserving its cultural heritage depicted by the artwork on the Tribal House for future generations, the HIA is pleased to cooperate with GBNPP, which has provided and will maintain the structure and artwork with federal budgets and regulations.

## 6.5 How the understanding of wilderness influences the Tribal House project

The promoters of the project at the HIA and GBNPP voiced their awareness of different approaches to the wilderness of Glacier Bay in Tlingit and Euro-American culture. For example, Frank Wright Jr., Tribal President of the HIA, clearly rejected the concept of wilderness by criticizing it as selfishly designated by the federal government, while ignoring the fact that wilderness areas are often indigenous homelands:

Wilderness is described by the U.S. government. And the Congress that made the laws... they don't understand what wilderness is.... Wilderness, to me, doesn't exist. It's home.... The wilderness to them is some place that they [put] a line to that says that I can't go there or can't do this there. There's no such things as wilderness to us. It's home.... It doesn't make sense for me, as a Tlingit. [It] doesn't make sense to call [Glacier Bay wilderness], because the U.S. government decided to call [it] as the wilderness, it's not the same as what I think [Glacier Bay] is.... I [could] agree with what the wilderness is, [which is] described by the U.S. government [and] designated as wilderness, [if I weren't] Tlingit.... The wilderness isn't a word for [*Xunaa Káawu*], or any indigenous people of the Lower 48, or Southeast [Alaska], or wherever. Wilderness is not for the Navaho [in] desert and stuff like that, and "Oh, I'm in the wilderness because I stepped across the line [which the government designated]."

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Kenneth J. Grant, the ex-president of the HIA and current employee at GBNPP, explained his Tlingit view of Glacier Bay as *haa aani* (our land), and challenged the concept of GBNPP as

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35. Frank Wright, Jr., interview by author, July 18, 2016. Frank Wright Jr. is a Tlingit from Hoonah with ancestral ties to the Glacier Bay area, although he does not belong to a clan at Hoonah. Wright grew up and lives in Hoonah, and he has vivid memories of Glacier Bay. He has been involved with the Tribal House project since the 1990s.

pristine wilderness. Yet he accepts the Wilderness Act as a current park employee, to protect his *haa aani* from abuse:

I asked to [his Tlingit] elders, “What do you think of, what's wilderness? What do you think about it?”...They looked at each other, and they [said] “There is no wilderness for us.”... We steward our homeland. And that's the way [Glacier Bay] has been treated [by *Xunaa Káawu*]. [However], having been a park person, I still believe that [Glacier Bay] can be abused with the amount of people coming in. So [we] need to have policies.... I believe strongly that we don't want our ancestral homeland being abused. Limiting the numbers [of people, and] limiting the activities, even human waste...all these things are important. And that comes from the Wilderness Act.

Mary Beth Moss recognizes the gap between her Tlingit husband's approach to seeing and visiting landscapes, compared to her own approach as an advocate of wilderness:

There is no question that the indigenous view of wilderness is very different than western views on wilderness. In fact, I would say that indigenous people don't even relate to the concept of the wilderness. I think, the concept of the wilderness is a western construct and makes no sense to indigenous people. The way the United States views wilderness [as] a place untrammelled by men, [which is a] place [that] has not been visited by humans. That makes no sense to indigenous people.... I've argued that the Tlingit people have exactly the opposite approach to visiting a landscape. [For example], for backpackers from Kentucky, they come up to Glacier Bay, and they want to walk where no man has ever walked before.... When [her Tlingit husband] goes to places, he wants to walk exactly where his ancestors have walked before.... Western people want to go where no one has ever been, and Tlingit people want to go where everyone's always gone. It's a very opposite relationship.... The Tribal House is not in the wilderness.... I think it's a challenge [to



balance the different views on wilderness to manage GBNPP] that lies ahead of [us that] we really have not resolved....I think I acknowledged that both approaches are valid. I understand both, [and] where both approaches are coming from.

Thus, promoters of the Tribal House project at both the HIA and GBNPP recognize their contrasting views on the wilderness of Glacier Bay, and currently leave the difference as an unresolved issue.

The different approaches to the “wilderness” of Glacier Bay caused past tension between *Xunaa Káawu* and the NPS, and still remain as unresolved issues regarding the natural resource management of the Park. Gordon Greenwald, Tlingit carver, referred to the contrasting views of the land in Glacier Bay, which directly relate to natural resource management in the Park. He illustrated Tlingit approaches for the resources of Glacier Bay, based on the *Xunaa Káawu* methods of utilizing and maintaining the population of mountain goats, seagulls, and sea otters. Greenwald criticized the method of the federal government to preserve those populations, and argued for compromise:

[The federal government] wanted [Glacier Bay] to be totally untouched forever. And to me, [considering] those natural resources there, [the federal government is] going to waste [what] we could utilize [culturally and] as human beings. We would utilize them, and not devastate the resource. An example would be mountain goats which I've talked [about] with some of the Park personnel. We could utilize mountain goats....We could utilize the horns for spoons as we would have, and the hooves and the hide and the hair, and the meat, and the bones, so we utilize the whole animal. None of us want to kill off mountain goats....So, now as it is, even if there's a winter kill of mountain goat and it dies on its own, we can't harvest [it or] any other resources....And [GBNPP] says, "Oh no, that's just nature's way that goes on." Well, to me, it's a waste! Let us use it! ...Let's come to a compromise. Let us to continue to

utilize as we would have. Now they realize it and we can now harvest gull eggs because if we practice our traditional methods of harvesting, we don't devastate the gull population. [GBNPP] now has scientific evidence that our methods of [seagull egg] harvesting was OK. So, you know, let us harvest them. Let us harvest fish. We don't want to devastate the streams because there will be none for future generation... I don't understand why we can't come to compromise where we can work on that [and] harvest some sea otter. [GBNPP] acknowledges now that there are too many sea otters. [Too many sea otters are] devastating the natural resources within the Park. But we can't harvest them within the Park. Why not? It might be a good thing to have some of the sea otter harvested. But because of the [federal] rules, we can't take any. So, in the meantime, crab, clam, sea urchin, [and] other crustacean, are disappearing.... Sometimes [utilizing] resources, I think it's better than [preserving it as] the total wilderness.... We have to be willing to sit and talk with each other.

Greenwald emphasized that it is necessary for both *Xunaa Káawu* and the National Park Service to try to understand one another on natural resource management of GBNPP. He argued that compromise is possible, considering that GBNPP partially allows *Xunaa Káawu* subsistence seagull egg gathering in the Park while monitoring the gull population, based on ethnographic and scientific research since 2003.<sup>36</sup> Through the Tribal House project, the two partners of the HIA and GBNPP have promoted cross-understandings on their different approaches to wilderness. Darlene See also suggested the potential of the Tribal House for improved communications between *Xunaa Káawu* and the NPS for the future:

When we [had the first workshop in December 2016] at the Tribal House, [a staff member at the HIA] invited [a GBNPP employee], who had been hired at the Park to

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36. Please refer to Hunn et al., "Huna Tlingit Traditional Environmental Knowledge, Conservation, and the Management of a 'Wilderness' Park." (See footnote 13 and 15) about this topic.

help planning [park management]....And the young [students at Hoonah City School] were given the opportunity to give a presentation about [their views on natural resource management in the Park]....One of the [students] came up [and presented] about the sea otters [in the Park] because [he wanted to argue the] need to let us hunt the sea otters....Also for other food preparation, the [students] mentioned they would like to see camps happen [in Glacier Bay] for food preparation, [such as] the smoking fish, seals, and sort of things....So many other topics [were raised, but] the no.1 [effect of having workshops in the Tribal House] is [to] generate communication and understanding.

In the design and construction process of the Tribal House, the HIA and GBNPP acknowledged the cross-cultural differences on the recognition of Glacier Bay, with the Tlingit regarding the Bay as *haa aani* (our land), and GBNPP regarding it as wilderness. The participants at the two governments understood that neither *Xunaa Kdawu* nor the NPS intended to spoil the significant Glacier Bay's landscapes for future generations. By holding various workshops at the Tribal House, the HIA and GBNPP expect to further ongoing communication that may lead to compromise on their different methods for natural resource management within Glacier Bay.

#### 6.6 Additional future issues/challenges facing the Tribal House

Despite the compatibility of the two partners' motivations in pursuing the Tribal House project and their cross-understandings, several unsettled matters also will require additional negotiation. For example, the stories behind the House belong to each clan (the familial and sociopolitical unit in Tlingit culture). The clans must decide which stories should be shared with tourists, who may interpret such stories, and how to interpret them. Both the HIA and GBNPP are responsible for supporting the clans' decisions. The partners also will

have to decide how to balance the local-indigenous use and non-local use of the Tribal House as a public facility. The two partners must also seek funding and negotiate with each other to operate and manage the Tribal House, which is a federal facility built primarily for the local indigenous group's use. The financing of the operation and management of the facility has not been fully settled. In addition, as Martindale (2008) explains, limited Tlingit subsistence food availability from Glacier Bay, and few opportunities to participate in *koo.éex'* (memorial gatherings) hinder *Xunaa Káawu*'s identification as *Xunaa Káawu*. It should be noted that natural resource management of Glacier Bay in accordance with *Xunaa Káawu* lifeways will be furthered by carrying out traditional ceremonies including *koo.éex'* and educational activities within the Tribal House. Furthermore, Native foods from Glacier Bay are essential to exercising the *Xunaa Káawu* lifeways, and for conducting ceremonies to affirm *Xunaa Káawu* identity. It is unclear to what degree GBNPP will accommodate these needs.

Accessibility to the Tribal House from the nearest towns and the structure's capacity are also critical issues that must be solved. Clearly it will be challenging to have *koo.éex'* at the Tribal House, because holding such ceremonies will involve bringing and accommodating hundreds of attendees, including many elders and children. Accommodations at Gustavus and in the Park are strictly limited, expensive, and almost unavailable in October, when *koo.éex'* is held, because it is off season for tourism. The HIA and GBNPP are now considering guidelines for interpretation, operation, and management, including accessibility and accommodation for actual use of the Tribal House.

## 7. Conclusion

The Tribal House project has been a topic of lively discussion owing to its design and construction, its representation of the ties between *Xunaa Káawu* (the Tlingit people originating in the Hoonah and Glacier Bay area) and the Park land, and its management. I

have not limited my analysis in this project to the stereotyped conflict between Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP) representing the strong federal power and a powerless indigenous group, the Hoonah Indian Association (the HIA, tribal government at Hoonah). The project's meaning is much more complex than I first thought. I have found agreement between the two partners' motivations, as well as some divergence between them. The HIA and GBNPP have different missions based on their different cultures. The HIA's mission is to promote the well-being of *Xunaa Káawu*. In contrast, GBNPP's mission is to preserve the resources and values of the Park. To accomplish these two distinct missions, however, the two partners have collaborated on a common goal: the construction of the Tribal House. The Tribal House project is monumental because 1) the Tribal House is the first tangible recognition of indigenous people's existence in the Park land, which was constructed by the National Park Service (NPS), 2) the House represents the contemporary *Xunaa Káawu* culture in an unhistorical way by requiring the consolidation of *Xunaa Káawu* clan-based identity; the House also represents the *Xunaa Káawu*'s adaptability to the modernity under the National Park System, and 3) the promoters of the project both at the HIA and GBNPP intend to maintain the House as a historical heritage of the Park for the future. In other words, the Tribal House is a physically new and self-created cultural resource of the National Park Service. Invisible oral history of Glacier Bay behind the physical Tribal House lends authenticity to the newly formed cultural resource. Simultaneously, the oral history conveys that the Park land belongs to the indigenous group: *Xunaa Káawu*, although the National Park System currently provides the opportunity for *Xunaa Káawu* to demonstrate their historical ownership.

The construction of the Tribal House is now complete. The beautiful House stands in the Park. The attached artwork on the House consists of splendid masterpieces that depict the rich oral history of Glacier Bay, maintained by each clan. So, what happens next? Both

benefits and challenges lie ahead, including those surrounding the use of the oral history and facilities, and financial questions regarding operation and management of the Tribal House as a future heritage of the Park. Although the two partners comprehend one another's contrasting views of the land and seascape of Glacier Bay, most hunting, fishing, and gathering are still regulated under the federal laws based on the western classification of the Bay as wilderness. Federal regulations constrain educational and ceremonial uses of the facility, by regulating the harvest of Native foods from the *Xunaa Káawu*'s ancestral homeland. The Tribal House's exact effects on both *Xunaa Káawu* cultural survival and on the values of GBNPP remain uncertain. Yet the Tribal House surely will foster communication among the *Xunaa Káawu*'s clans, as well as the communication between the HIA and GBNPP. Both partners are eager to interpret *Xunaa Káawu* contemporary culture to tourists and to inspire the public broadly about the prehistory and recorded history of the Glacier Bay region. The Tribal House may also inspire the National Park Service outside GBNPP and other indigenous groups, to collaborate similarly. I will close this paper by stating that the project has already achieved success in promoting many discussions, consultations, and compromises during the visioning and the construction process of the Tribal House. The Tribal House promises to remain a catalyst for ongoing communication that will further understanding cross-culturally, cross-generationally, and cross-organizationally.

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## Institutional Review Board

909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

May 13, 2016

To: Mary Ehrlander, Ph.D.  
Principal Investigator  
From: University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB  
Re: [907462-1] The motivations for the Tribal House Project

Thank you for submitting the New Project referenced below. The submission was handled by Exempt Review. The Office of Research Integrity has determined that the proposed research qualifies for exemption from the requirements of 45 CFR 46. This exemption does not waive the researchers' responsibility to adhere to basic ethical principles for the responsible conduct of research and discipline specific professional standards.

Title:	The motivations for the Tribal House Project
Received:	May 9, 2016
Exemption Category:	2
Effective Date:	May 13, 2016

This action is included on the June 8, 2016 IRB Agenda.

*Prior to making substantive changes to the scope of research, research tools, or personnel involved on the project, please contact the Office of Research Integrity to determine whether or not additional review is required. Additional review is not required for small editorial changes to improve the clarity or readability of the research tools or other documents.*





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## Institutional Review Board

909 N Koyukuk Dr. Suite 212, P.O. Box 757270, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-7270

January 9, 2017

To: Mary Ehrlander, Ph.D.  
Principal Investigator  
From: University of Alaska Fairbanks IRB  
Re: [907462-2] The motivations for the Tribal House Project

Thank you for submitting the Revision referenced below. The submission was handled by Exempt Review. The Office of Research Integrity has determined that the proposed research qualifies for exemption from the requirements of 45 CFR 46. This exemption does not waive the researchers' responsibility to adhere to basic ethical principles for the responsible conduct of research and discipline specific professional standards.

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Exemption Category: 2  
Effective Date: January 9, 2017

This action is included on the January 25, 2017 IRB Agenda.

*Prior to making substantive changes to the scope of research, research tools, or personnel involved on the project, please contact the Office of Research Integrity to determine whether or not additional review is required. Additional review is not required for small editorial changes to improve the clarity or readability of the research tools or other documents.*

## Questions for interview

1. Thank you for speaking with me. Could you introduce yourself to me please?
2. I would like to ask about your relationship with the Tribal House project. First of all, when did you become involved with the project?
3. How did you get involved with the project?
4. I would like to know more about your contribution to the project. Would you please explain your role in the project?
5. Have you had any difficulties in promoting the project, within the National Park Service, within the community of Hoonah, or with others?
6. I suppose that the Tribal House is a new Tlingit structure. I mean, the interior and exterior design is very similar to Tlingit clan houses in the 19th century. But the objectives for the construction, users of the House, the process of planning, designing and construction, and its utility are different from the Tlingit clan houses. So, what would you define the Tribal House as?
7. The Tribal House accumulates various expectations for the people working on the project. What are your expectations for the House?
8. I would like to focus on the historical aspects of the Tribal House. What makes the Tribal House a historical presence of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GBNPP), do you think?
9. Personally I think that the Tribal House is a monument which symbolizes a new, collaborative park management arrangement between the Park and local indigenous community. What do you think about the significance of a Tribal House in GBNPP?
10. I presume that motivations for the project seem different between the HIA and GBNPP. I hypothesize that the different motivations are derived from the tensions between of them. Do you think that any tension exists between the HIA's motivations for the Tribal House and GBNPP's motivations? And why (why not)?
11. I personally believe that the different views on wilderness between the National Park Service and the Hoonah community have contributed to past tensions between the two. What are your views for the wilderness in GBNPP?
12. The Tribal House is expected to introduce Hoonah Tlingit history and culture to the Park visitors. How do you want Hoonah Tlingit history and culture to be interpreted within the Tribal House?
13. Do you have other comments about the Tribal House project?

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